

COMMUNICATIONS
FROM THE
STATES AND TERRITORIES.

[The New National Era does not hold itself responsible
for views expressed by correspondents. Well written and
interesting communications will be gladly received.]

From Arkansas.

LITTLE ROCK, Sept. 24, 1874.
To the Editor of the New National Era.

Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co.'s International
Review for September and October contains
an article entitled "The Negroes of the Gulf
States," which is the production of E. T.
Winkler, D. D., of Georgia, and is a charac-
teristic treatment of such a subject by such
a writer. It asserts that for a series of years
the negro has been under the paternal care
of the Government, and the cherished ob-
ject of philanthropy; that he has been pro-
vided with schools and churches, votes and
offices, courts and garrisons and legislatures,
all manner of privileges and safeguards, yet
in the face of all these means of improve-
ment, so meager has been his progress and
so pronounced his vices that it is already
demonstrated that the barbarism of the race
cannot be concealed; that it is not likely
that he can be made a homogeneous element
in American society, and that his transfer to
a separate colony would prove of the greatest
advantage, both to the Republic and himself.
The result of all the attempts to elevate the
condition of the negro is, in Mr. Winkler's
opinion, a lamentable failure, for which he
assigns the following reasons:

"The disappointments we have encountered
in dealing with this subject are due, for the
most part, to one radical error. It has been
taken for granted that the negroes were
depressed and demoralized by their servile
condition only, and needed nothing more
than emancipation, with its concomitant
rights and safeguards, to prepare them for
the duties of citizenship. Their past history
has not been consulted. Their distinctive
race-qualities have been wholly ignored.
Thus they have come to be regarded as a
class of Americans who differ from their fel-
low-citizens in no other particular than the
darkness of skin. And most of the meas-
ures which either public policy or private
philanthropy have devised for their benefit
proceed from this point of departure. That
the position, however, is untenable, would
scarcely need to be called for."

"The circumstance of a permanent race-dis-
tinction between whites and blacks has been
quite overlooked by those who have had the
freedom in charge." Having thus described
the negro, Winkler proceeds to impute to his
agency all the evils that have, as he claims,
existed in the South since reconstruction,
heavy taxation, increase of public debt, cor-
ruption of courts, fraud in elections, and
increase of crime. The negro, so Mr. Winkler
declares, regards office not as a trust, but
as an opportunity; he recognizes no restraint
upon the power of taxation, elections are
declared or annulled at pleasure; the official
desk is a booth in a market place. Monopoly,
the negro is addicted to murder, witchcraft,
theft, perjury, adultery; he is an adept at
stealing, without discretion, lazy, shiftless,
and improvident. These are his race-quali-
ties, according to Winkler. I do not propose
to refute the argument of Mr. Winkler, nor
deny his allegations; not even to attempt to
weaken the one or extenuate the force of the
other. I wish merely to point out to the
learned divine a missing link in the chain
which connects his premises with his con-
clusions, without which the whole elaborate
production of his brain, like the Deacon's
one-horse play, goes to nothing:

"All at once and nothing first,
Just as bubbles do when they burst."

That missing link is Winkler's failure to
show by history that the same evils in gov-
ernment and the same crimes among the peo-
ple have not existed among white races at
the same stage in their career as that upon
which the negroes are just entering. If they
have not, Mr. Winkler may sing to triumph;
if they have, away goes the elaborate theory
of a permanent race distinction as clean as
the tail of Tom O'Shanter's mare. And this
is, indeed, the very spot where the redoubt-
able politico-theologian falls, and his weapons
of warfare perish; for it is simply a school-
boy's holiday task to prove from history that
all these evils in government, and all these
crimes among the people have been the rule
among white races just emerging from a ser-
vile condition, and that the theory of a per-
manent race-distinction is the offspring of
unreflecting ignorance and credulous con-
ceit. The people of England emerged from
villainage, their servile condition, at about
the beginning of the seventeenth century;
the year 1574 being, according to Hallam, the
last that furnishes unequivocal historical evi-
dence of its existence. According to Winkler's
theory, these people should have been without
high taxation, without an increase of public
debt, free from the bribery, corruption, crimes
and vice, which Mr. Winkler traces back to the
negro's race-qualities; and "permanent race-dis-
tinction." But, unfortunately for the theory, the facts are that all
and single the evils, vices and crimes of
which Mr. Winkler complains, are the very
ones the historians dwell upon. It would
not be difficult to fill volumes with extracts
illustrative and confirming these assertions,
but I shall confine myself to a few taken at
random from Hallam's Middle Ages, Macau-
ley's History of England, and Buckle's His-
tory of Civilization, three standard works to
be found in almost any good library. Mr.
Winkler says, sneeringly, "the appearance
of the negro in the historic movement of the
New World was due, as every one knows, to
a revolution effected by the arms of the Re-
public, and not to any effort for freedom put
forth by the race." Hallam says, "It is
common indeed to assert that the liberties of
England were bought with the blood of our
forefathers. This is a very magnanimous
boast, and in some degree is consonant
enough to the truth. But it is far more gen-
erally accurate to say that they were pur-
chased by money. A great proportion of
our best laws, including Magna Charta, as it
now stands confirmed by Henry III, were,
in the most literal sense, obtained by a pecu-
niary bargain with the crown." After the
rebellion broke out President Lincoln offered
the slaveholders a bargain that upon their
returning to loyalty he would refrain from in-

terference with slavery. They refused to
accept and lost their slaves. Thus a bargain
accepted secured the white man's liberty,
and a bargain neglected secured that of the
black, and I cheerfully concede to Mr. Wink-
ler all the use he can make of these two facts
in establishing the theory of a permanent
race-distinction. Turning from this point, I
shall merely quote the remarks of the his-
torians I have mentioned on the evils and
crimes which Mr. Winkler has worked him-
self up to the point of regarding as race-
qualities of the negro.

"In many parliaments of Edward III. and
Richard II. the sale of redress is charged
for as distinctly, and with as little apparent
sense of disgrace, as the most legitimate
business between two merchants would be
transacted." (Hallam.) "From the noble-
man, who held the white staff and the
great seal, down to the humblest die-water
and gauger, what would now be called gross
corruption was practised without disgrace
and without reproach. Titles, places, com-
missions, pardons, were daily sold in market
overt by the great dignitaries of the realm;
and every clerk in every department initiated
to the best of his power, the evil example."
(Macaulay.) "The King was, in truth, at
most the only person who could be trusted
not to rob the King." (Ibid.) "Honors and
public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments,
frigates, embassies, governments, com-
missions, leases of crown lands, contracts
for clothing, for provisions, for annuities,
pensions, pardons for robbery, for arson,
were sold at Whitehall scarcely less
openly than asparagus at Covent Garden,
or herrings at Billingsgate." (Ibid.) "The
naval administration was a prodigy of waste-
fulness, ignorance, and indolence—no esti-
mate could be trusted, no contract performed,
no check enforced; the vessels were found
to go to sea, and the sailors glad to find
some nigger who would purchase their tickets
at forty per cent. discount; officers died for
want of a morsel of bread. The military ad-
ministration was still worse. The courtiers
took bribes from the colonels; the colonels
cheated the soldiers; the commissaries sent
in long bills for what had never been fur-
nished; the keepers of the arsenals sold the
public stores and pocketed the price. The
courts of justice were in such a state that
their decisions, even in civil matters, had
ceased to inspire confidence, and their ser-
vice in criminal cases had brought upon the
kingdom the stain of innocent blood. The
poor householders were frequently unable
to pay their hearth-money to the day. When
this happened, their furniture was distrained
without mercy; for the tax was farmed, and
a farmer of taxes is, of all creditors, prob-
ably the most rapacious. The collectors
were empowered to examine the interior of
every house in the realm, to disturb families
at meals, to force the doors of bed-rooms,
and, if the sum demanded were not punctu-
ally paid, to sell the henchman on which the
barley loaf was divided among the poor chil-
dren, and the pillow under the head of the
lying woman." (Macaulay.) "The collectors were
not only accused of performing their unpopu-
lar duty with harshness and insolence. It was
said that as soon as they appeared at the
threshold of a cottage the children began to
wail, and the old women ran to hide their
countenances. Nay, the single bed of a poor
family had sometimes been carried away and
sold." "Nobody," said William of Orange,
"hates bribery more than I. But I have to
do with a set of men who must be managed
in this way, or not at all." In the midst
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Freebooters in the country carried off cattle,
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Such are the details which Hallam, Buckle,
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The Temper of the South.

The Political Murders.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7, 1874.

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Sincerely yours,

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To the Hon. Charles Hayes, M. C.

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Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, Hampton, Va.

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the true friends of the Union are more com-
mon than they have been at any hour
since Lee surrendered to Grant, and unless
the strong arm of Federal power can avert the
calamity I can see nothing in the future but
gloom and despair to the loyal men of the
South, ruin to the material interests of the
country, and death to those who are up-
right, active, and performing their unpopular
duty with harshness and insolence. It was
said that as soon as they appeared at the
threshold of a cottage the children began to
wail, and the old women ran to hide their
countenances. Nay, the single bed of a poor
family had sometimes been carried away and
sold." "Nobody," said William of Orange,
"hates bribery more than I. But I have to
do with a set of men who must be managed
in this way, or not at all." In the midst
of this state of things, the national debt was
run from nothing to one hundred and forty
million pounds sterling. So much for the
condition of things among a white race just
emerging from servitude, in respect to gov-
ernmental evils; and to complete the com-
parison, it is only necessary to quote some
passages in respect to the popular vices and
crimes imputed by Mr. Winkler to the ne-
groes of the Gulf States. "The perjury of
England," says Sir William Hamilton,
"stands pre-eminent in the world." Buckle
says, "The perjury habitually practiced in
England is so general that it has become a
source of national corruption." And it is a
well-known fact that the extensive organiza-
tions of white men "in the Gulf States,"
known as Ku-Klux, are bound by solemn
oaths to commit perjury for the relief of any
of their members who may come under the
cognizance of the law. As to superstition,
until very recently inoculation was regarded
by the Scotch as flying in the face of Provi-
dence, comets were signs of coming tribu-
lation, the Devil was known to transport the
bodies of men through the air, and perhaps
from its interfering with this means of loco-
motion; the construction of roads was bit-
terly opposed in Scotland. On the other
hand, in 1745, the English believed that the
Highlanders ate children; and certain per-
sons of noble birth among the latter had
what was called the right "of pit and gal-
lows," or of inflicting capital punishment.
Charles II. touched for scrofula; John Wes-
ley declared that to give up witchcraft was
to give up the Bible; and John Knox was
accessory to the assassination of Archbishop
Beaton. Cattle-stealing was so popular that
the name of "herdsman" was invented ex-
pressly for it; and thence says, "thieving
was not the peculiar habit of the low and
indigent, but often common to them with
persons of rank and landed estate." The
wife of the Lord High Commissioner of Ire-
land was popularly regarded as a witch, and
"was believed" to have been seen in the
likeness of a cat, seated on the cloth of state
by his side. The Lord Chief Justice of the
same country declared from the bench that
robbery was a necessary evil. On account
of bands of lawless characters, certain por-
tions of London were said by Macaulay to
have been no less unsafe than the bog of
Allen, or the passes of the Grampians.
Freebooters in the country carried off cattle,
and devoured them half raw, and half turned
to cinders—sometimes still bleeding, and
sometimes in a state of loathsome decay.
Such are the details which Hallam, Buckle,
Macaulay, and Hume give in respect to the
condition of a white race at about the time
of the extinction of villenage, and it is by far
worse than what Mr. Winkler asserts in regard
to the condition of the negroes of the Gulf
States. The conclusion is inevitable that
the governmental evils and crimes of the
South have no connection with any perma-

ment race-distinction or peculiar race qual-
ities, but that they are the incidents of human
nature in a low state of civilization, the direct
and inevitable result of a previous servile
condition. The remedy is not expulsion or
expatriation, but the general diffusion of in-
telligence. Spain tried the Winkler remedy
by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors
and in a short time sunk from the position of
a first-class power to poverty and insignifi-
cance. England, under the beneficial influ-
ence of the remedy herein advocated, has so
managed the liberties she obtained by "a
pecuniary bargain with the crown" as to
have become the mightiest and wealthiest of
nations.

J. C. COBBIN.

The Temper of the South.

The Political Murders.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7, 1874.

MY DEAR SIR: I was most deeply and
painfully interested in the conversation with
you this evening concerning the condition of
the South. It is certain that the people of
the South are both stupid and misinformed.
It is believed that there has been an ex-
aggeration as to the number and character
of the assaults and murders resulting
from political causes, and that rumors of
outrages are started and circulated with a
view to the effect upon the sections. I have
listened to your informal narration of late
occurrences in your district. I know you as
a native and life-long resident of Alabama,
engaged largely in planting, formerly the
largest slaveholder in that state, and a sol-
dier in the Confederate army throughout the
war. Please give me in writing as com-
pactly as clearness will permit the substance
of what you have told me. I want to pub-
lish it at home and give it to my neighbors
and constituents as the account of a gentle-
man of unimpeachable honor.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

To the Hon. Charles Hayes, M. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 7, 1874.

Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, Hampton, Va.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of even date
this is before me, and I hasten to reply,
for I am anxious that the true condition of
the South be known as soon as possible to the
people of the whole country, in order that they
may begin to realize the fact that the spirit of
rebellion against the laws and government of
the United States, to extinguish which so
many brave and gallant men have lost their
lives, still exists in the hearts of many mis-
guided people. They embrace every oppor-
tunity to commit deeds of lawlessness and
crime, that are everlastingly stigmas upon the
fair name of the nation, and the stain of dish-
onor to the flag of our country, which many
of your people are vainly patriotic enough to
believe is an act of protection, wherever it
floats. I had fondly hoped that the "reign
of terror" in the South was over, and that
peace, good will and prosperity would reign
forthright supreme. In this hope, I am
sadly disappointed, for candidly compels me to
say that to-day riots, murders, assassina-
tions and tortures for the purpose of terrorizing
the true friends of the Union are more com-
mon than they have been at any hour
since Lee surrendered to Grant, and unless
the strong arm of Federal power can avert the
calamity I can see nothing in the future but
gloom and despair to the loyal men of the
South, ruin to the material interests of the
country, and death